1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are ceremonially kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86. Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing, when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*kaa maeuel*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *ala ote pole* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when maximum power is required; *ala tuakoa ki tuaki*, quick, shallow strokes,

The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there. As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*awa*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

Before the causeway (*hoio*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve of Nina. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *awa* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands. The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tauhoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1, *b*).[1]

The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe, in the reign of the chief Ifalima or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alitalupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tutuhi*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*hoio*) of metaw wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backyard. The boundary advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*aliki nanu*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

1. [See p. 15, category III— analyst.]

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ber to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Tane's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *kaio* stick. Whatever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki lalo te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamanava" (Thrust the *kaio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

621 423 776

At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Tane in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

621 423

A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

[5 78]

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

524 824 171 Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut leaflets. Coconut leaflet toys, made by children according to the technique described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*viou*), the windmill (*patoko lauuiu*), the leaflet bull roarer (*wakatangitangi*), and the leaflet spinner (*wakaki matangi* or *wuti lole lauuiu*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tiongo a Maui* (fig. 49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu lauuiu*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets:

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to turns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the medial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

524 177 Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *wakawaka* wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by covering a stone with plaited check coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui ngaipu*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or sennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes. 526 527 Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merry-making that introduced the six months of pleasure.

177 Wooden stilts (*lolo*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by children.

524 The toy bow (*uena*) and arrow (*li*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pei*) seeds from the *matou* tree.

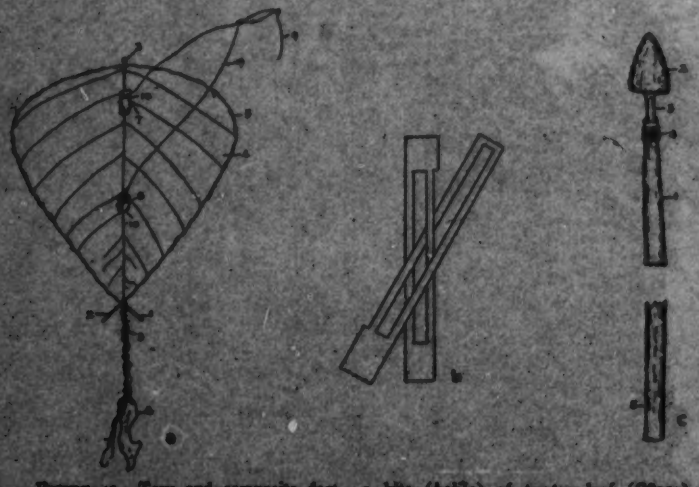
1-Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

524 Swings (*takitaki*) are made by suspending a crossbar of *ngangie* wood
177 by a sennit rope from a branch of convenient height. The swing is supposed to have been introduced originally by the voyager Wue on his return to Pukapuka. No skipping rope was known.

Noise makers (*pulaka mana*) are made by cutting shallow longitudinal slits on a length of *pulaka* stalk. The flanges so made are raised. With the stalk held in the left hand, the flanges are knocked down in succession with a sweeping blow of the dorsal side of the right hand. A loud noise results as each flange is leveled.

Pop guns (*mana*) are made by inserting a piston into the hollow core of a dry *ngayu* branch. The seed of the *taeyinu* tree or a piece of mature coconut flesh (*ipüpi*) is inserted into the branch and the piston sharply pushed down on top of the seed to produce a loud report. Another pop gun is made with the hollow wing bone of the *takupu* bird, a piston of *puepue* wood, and *taeyinu* seed or *ipüpi* to produce the report.

526 A surf board (*papa*) is any flat piece of wood of about an arm's length on which arms and chest are rested when surfing. No elaborate long boards are used, nor does the surfer ride in any position but the prone one.



524 Figure 49—Toys and composite dart. a, kite (*heilo*) of *puepue* leaf (C8099):
284 coconut leaflet midrib (1, 2) bent into required shape and fastened to another midrib (3) by strips of coconut fiber (*halena*); edges of large *puepue* leaf (4) bent over this frame and fastened to it by continuous thread of fiber (5) which passes through leaf and around frame midrib; center midrib (3) extends below apex of kite and to this a tail (6) of two dried coconut leaves fastened by transverse turns of fiber; at two points

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-8) Pupukana

524 284 (7, 8), face of kite is punctured in longitudinal mesial line and a trailer cord (9) is knotted to midrib over small wads of leaves (10) which prevent chafing of kite face. Size of kite: greatest width, 10 inches; height, 10 inches; length of tail, 3 feet. A second kite (C8058) is 9 inches wide, 10½ inches high. *b*, trick figure of coconut leaflet (*tiongo a Mani*): dried coconut leaflet 8 inches long, 1 inch wide slit three times longitudinally; section at each end of leaflet slit transversely so that leaflet consists of two sections, front and back, each bearing two thin strips; trick is to disengage two leaflet sections without breaking them. *c*, composite dart (*vulo*) of *ngaya* wood (C8100): 1, haft 6 feet 2 inches long, average diameter ½ inch; 2, head (*ulutua*) of *ngangie* wood 1⅝ inches long, ½ inch in diameter at base; 3, stem 1⅛ inches long, ¼ inch in diameter, pointed and driven into pithy core of haft and lashed with 10 transverse turns (4) of fine two-ply twisted *usuo* cord; commencement and finishing ends buried; lashing holds *ulutua* head fast and prevents haft head from splitting. Most darts also lashed with transverse turns at proximal (5) end (*yilu*) of haft to prevent splitting of haft when thrown dart strikes ground. Above described dart is small; a more typical dart, examined in the field, was 7 feet 6 inches long, ½ inch in cross section, with an *ulutua* head 4¼ inches long; butt end of dart was bound with *usuo* cord.

524 Kites (*kolilo*) are made of a *puapua* leaf stretched over a coconut leaflet midrib frame (fig. 49*a*). The tail (*kave*) is made of two dry coconut leaflets, the flying cord of strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*). A circular faced kite is termed *kolilo ipu*; a semi-diamond shaped kite is termed *kolilo kolovaleva*.

The only tops in use are teetotum tops (*potekatoka*). These are *toupulepule* shells (*Conus ebraeus*) which are spun (*takavilivili*) with a twirl of the fingers. The spinning point is termed *mulimuli*, the spun end, *ulu*. No game is played with these tops; they are used as toys only.

526 Throwing discs (*potekatoka watu*) are made by rubbing down a piece of *punga* coral with another stone until the coral is roughly disc-shaped. Apparently no particular care is taken to produce a well-finished article. A rough disc seen in the field was 3¾ inches in diameter and between ¾ and 1 inch thick. To throw the disc is *wakapotekatoka* or *wakatatoka*.

Discs for the game of *tupa* are made of coconut shell. In a set of 12 (C8194), five discs are cut from the eye end of the shell, seven from the opposite end of the shell. The discs range in weight from 1 to 1½ ounces and in diameter from 3 to 3¾ inches. No particular pains have been taken over the discs. The surface of the shell is smooth, but not polished.

The dart (*tiha*) is made of *ngaya* wood:

526 322 Lengths of wood are cut from the bush and heated over a fire so that the green bark may be easily peeled from the wood. The dart is rubbed smooth between two pieces of coconut shell. The shorter dart (*putiha*, C8061) is about 2 feet long and ½ inch in diameter. The longer dart (*tiha*, C8062) is about 8 inches longer and of the same diameter. The darts are bluntly pointed at the proximal end; the distal end (the head) of one of the darts has been worn away from striking the ground. It is a matter of choice whether the player uses the short or the long dart.

The composite dart (*vulo*, C8100) is made of *ngaya* wood with a head (*ulu toa*) of *ngangie* wood (fig. 49*c*):

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

526
322 The wood is heated over a fire and the green bark peeled from it. The shaft is rubbed (*melumelu*) smooth between two pieces of coconut shell and given a deep brown color by hanging in the rafters of a cook house above the smoke of cooking fires. Alternately the shaft may be decorated with spiral lines by stripping the bark from the shaft in a spiral about 1 inch wide running from butt to head and then hung over a cooking fire for some days, after which the remainder of the bark is peeled off leaving the shaft with a spiral of dark brown running down the length. A dart decorated in this way is named *tolo tafa*.

411 Darts are used as sporting equipment today. Some informants suggested that *tolo* with sharply pointed heads might also have been used as weapons.

a b

Figure 30.—Gong and drum. *a*, wooden slit gong (CB111): diameter from slot to bottom 3½ inches; cross section diameter 3½ by 4 inches; length of gong 17¾ inches; slot opening, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide; beating stick (CB112) 10 inches long, ¾ inch diameter. A second gong (CB054) is smaller: diameter from slot to bottom 2 inches; cross diameters 3 inches by 2½ inches; length 16½ inches; slot opening 13 inches long; ¾ inch wide; beating stick (CB055) 12½ inches long, ¾ inch diameter. The wood from which gongs are made is *tootou*, that of beaters *ngangie*. Bottom surfaces of both gongs slightly convex. *b*, shark-skin covered drum (*puru*) (CB101): drum 2 feet 9½ inches high, 10 inches top diameter, 9 inches bottom diameter, cut from solid block of coconut wood; inside top of drum hollowed out and an edge ½ inch wide and 2 inches deep cut around outside of top: 1, shark-skin cover (*uaka hili mango*) laid on top of drum and circumference of skin folded over circular wooden binder (*tua kaumaka*) of pandanus wood (2); skin shown cut away (B) to indicate wooden binder (9) beneath; 3, second wooden binder seized with three-ply sennit, placed on top of skin folded over first binder and pulled tight by three-ply sennit cord which starts as free end of sewing to second binder, passes down (4) around (5) one of legs (*vae*) and up again to second binder, under and over it and down again to second leg; lashing continues until second binder is held by cord passing around each leg; free end of lashing cord passes up from last leg and then around circumference of drum (6), making transverse turn around each oblique lashing; circumferential lashing finished off with overhand knots around last oblique lashing (7). The shark skin for this drum was cut too small and the turned-up circumference has been caught around first binder (2) with sewing of cotton thread. An alternate method of lashing skin to drum is to pass sennit lashing directly through holes in circumference of skin, passing lashing around legs as before; this method obviates the rather clumsy use of two circular wooden binders.

1: Beaglehole 2. Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupele*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, taro, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lupa* or *wolivaka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry, to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

Young Men's Fishing Group

Having become adults, the young men of a *tai tangata* (birth class) next graduated to the *tanganga* fishing group. Some informants said that the boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tanganga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tanganga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tanganga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupele*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tanganga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tanganga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau matua* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loloe-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loe-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nukuaya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Tuna and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakaua, a difficult woman of surpassing

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1936-8) 1938 Pukapukans

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yea, brought back to Pukapuka some
171 games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the
524 eastern and western islands, notably the chief Woa, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of
572 children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

538 Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances
527 of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

521 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*vaka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*tuku*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*hui*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*to te vaka*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run around or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatoa nanei (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka sha!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Watangaya" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*hui*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or lash with hand or stick suffices.

Wai alua nanei (old name, playing spirit of the sun) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the star Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*tuvasa*) are drawn about 30 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Lewaka (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na walv takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

Tolotolowaga, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*talovalo*), and the other to crawl (*tatolo*) behind the *tahapau* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolowaga, tolotolowaga na ngalo, koai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach. Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The individualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*aana*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

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Ko te kau, ko te kau o Mani	The fishhook of Maui (in Scorpio)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	The tail of the rat (Coma Berenices)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	[repeat]
	9
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	Singing branches, singing branches
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	[repeat]
Mai te pulaka tunu, mai te pulaka tunu	Like *pulaka* cooking, like *pulaka* cooking
Mai te pulaka tunu, mai te pulaka tunu	[repeat]
	10
E Luna to timu e angi nei	Oh Luna, your wind blows here
E Luna to timu e angi nei	[repeat]
Ka pu aau to vaka ki Kalaumoa	Your canoe will be carried to Kalaumoa
E, ka pu aau to vaka ki Mata Kalokalo	Your canoe will be carried to Mata Kalokalo
E, ka tau la koe ki tawa nua te kulo nua te wawa	You will land at the side with the people with their talo
Ka tae la koe ki Kalaumoa, ka tae la koe ki Kalaumoa.	You will reach Kalaumoa, you will reach Kalaumoa.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

Puloni (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is now associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kiki uuli tae. A group of adults and older children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to remain serious while causing another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

Kimikimi is played by two or three persons seated near each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's feet. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kimikimi*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position, they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and licks his thumb as the others sing "yopu" (lick). When all the hands are retrieved from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, licking his big toe.

Wakatangi ngutu is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the skin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a loud sound. Children frequently play this game when intent on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. These are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *utu pepe*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *utu toulieli*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *utuutu*, which consists in ordinary jumping up and down with both heels kept together; and *kokiigi* in which the player hops on one foot.

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526 *Utu pepe* outrun. A line (*uouou*) two fathoms long is marked off on the ground by scraping with the foot. Two teams (*vaka*, canoes) are chosen. In turn each player of one team makes the *utu pepe* movements up and down the outrun line, while the count is kept of the total number of times the team moves up and down the line. The players of the other team follow. The team that scores the greatest number of complete jumps wins the contest. In *utu pepe tuahaga*, two players, one from each team, jump together at the same time, without moving on any course. One team wins a point (*kai*) when the player from the other team drops out. The team that first wins 10 jumps (*utu kaupaulu*), wins (*ka te utu*) the match.

In *utanto* and *utu tautiloli*, a *uouou* line may or may not be used.

Tehitehi hopping. A rectangular area (*uouou*) about 15 feet long and 10 feet wide is lined off on an open space. The participants, singly or in groups, hop up and down this line, scoring one point for each arrival at either end of the boundary. The player with the most points wins the contest. Because this is an endurance test, the skillful hopper makes each pace as long as he can and thus economizes on wind.

527 *Tihili hoou* (juggling with very young immature coconuts). Played by children and adults. In competitive juggling, the players chant and juggle in rhythm; those who are able to continue to the end of the chant win the contest. A number of chants especially composed for this amusement were collected (1). The usual number of *hoou* used in juggling is three; some experts are able to juggle four at a time.

Shell Tossing

Tiki pulepule (tossing *pulepule* shells, the Polynesian counterpart of jackstones). Played by adults and children of both sexes. From two to twenty persons may play at one time. A large number of seashells of the type known as *pulepule* (*Cypraea*) are gathered and placed in the center of the group of players who take up their positions in a circle seated on *tahapou* mats. Each player has a throwing stone (*tiki uatu*) which he holds in his right hand. The object of the game is to toss up the stone, pick up the shells from the ground in a given fashion, and catch the stone as it comes down. Twenty-nine figures may be played in one game, starting with the simple tossing up of the stone and removing of one shell from the heap. The beginner, who is chosen in no special way, but who simply is the first to call out, "I am first (*Ko oku te pule tuyi*) is known as the "*pule tuyi*". He continues to play until he misses—until the stone has fallen (*ua to*) without his having caught it, until he fails to pick up the required number of shells, or until he has removed all the shells, which is one win (*utu tuyi*) for him. Should he miss, the play goes to the next person on his left, and so on in a counter-clockwise direction round the circle of players, continuing the one figure until all the shells have been removed. As each player picks up shells during his play, he places these under his bent knee, to be counted when the figure is over. Each player in turn counts (*hoou*) his shells one by one, counting without any special numerical prefix (*hatoa* being 10, *lau hua*, 20, and so forth). At the end of the play the number of figures won by the individual players, which are called *utu tuyi*, *utu lua*, and so forth, are compared and the one who has won the most individual plays wins (*te te utu*). To tie either in a single figure or for the whole game is *uvale*. The loser is *uvalea* (defeated). As each figure is finished, the next is begun by the person to the left of the starter of the preceding figure, regardless of where the last play ended. Thus, each player from the start is called by the name of the figure which he will begin. The figures are played in the following order:

1. *Pule tuyi*: throw up the stone, remove one shell from the heap, and catch the stone as it drops.

2. *Pule lua*: remove two shells at a time with each toss of the stone. It is considered a miss to pick up more or less than the required number. An odd shell at the end is counted by the player who finishes the figure.

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524 22. *Pule take ki luega* (raise up): throw up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the falling stone with an upward swooping movement of the hand.

23. *Pule yona:* throw up the stone in such a way that it will fall near the front of the body, remove as many shells as possible, and catch the stone at the height where the yona (neck ornament) hangs on the chest.

24. *Pule luku ki te vaka* (scoop to the canoe): throw up the stone, toss a handful of shells into the lap and catch the stone.

25. *Pule lukei* (decorate): place the shells in a line along the outside of one leg and thigh at intervals of one inch, and remove these one by one with a toss of the stone, in such a way as not to disturb the remainder.

26. *Pule lupe:* toss the stone high in the air, slap thighs with both hands, pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

27. *Pule yi potuhi* (fish *potuhi*): throw up the stone, move one shell at a time toward the body with a flick of the flexed index finger and catch the stone.

28. *Pule kohemo* (eyes closed): throw up the stone, close eyes tightly, pick up shells and catch the falling stone without opening the eyes.

29. *Pule uuyilayila* (sleepy eyes): throw up the stone, and with eyes more than half-closed pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

Disc Throwing

526 *Whapotakaeha* (disc throwing for distance). The disc (*potaka*) is a stone of *punga* coral. To throw the disc is *wahotaeha*. The course is the village street. The teams are made up of ten men each, one team from each village. Three men throw each round. The stone is held with the thumb and index finger and thrown for distance with an underhand motion. The team with the greatest number of longest throws at the end of ten rounds wins the contest.

Disc Pitching

Tupe (disc pitching). The game is played with coconut-shell discs, of varying weights and sizes, cut from the bottom of the dried, *tuaré pukeli* nut shell. The discs are polished smooth and the edges made even and regular. Two sets of discs are not distinguished by different colorings, the discs are not ornamented, nor is there any special container for them. The surface on which the discs are thrown is a new, smooth, ordinary pandanus mat, 6 to 8 feet long and of any width. The players sit at the head of the mat. The opposite end of the mat is raised 4 or 5 inches by the insertion under its edge of a coconut leaf midrib, which is called for this purpose *hoiyafa*. A third person called the *hoiyafa* sits at the raised end of the mat to keep the prop in position, to judge and recover the thrown discs. The object of the game is to place the discs as near the edge of the mat as possible, even tilting them over the raised surface, so that they are closer to the edge than the discs of the opponent.

The game is played by two players at a time. Any even number of discs up to 20 is equally divided between them. Though the first pitcher is at a disadvantage, he is not chosen in any special way. One player simply says to the other, "Tupe", and the other throws. He tosses his disc up to the edge of the mat with a well-aimed side twist of the wrist which spins the disc and helps to check the danger of its rolling off the edge of the mat. If the first player's placement is a good one and lies just at the edge of the mat, but not tilting over, the second player attempts with his first pitch to hit (*tongi* or *lita*) it off from the inner side so that his own disc will remain on the mat while the other is knocked off. If the first disc of the first player is badly thrown and constitutes no danger to the second player, the second player throws without attempting to upset its position but to place his own shot in a good position on or near the edge of the mat. Then the first player, in his second pitch, will attempt to knock off the opponent's good shot, replacing it with his own disc. As soon as he betters his own preceding throw, which has itself been bettered by the opponent, the disc of his preceding throw is

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526 removed (*to*). Should he leave two or more discs on the mat, none of which is bettered by the opponent's discs, these are left until such time as the opponent manages to place a disc ahead of them, when all behind opponent's placement are removed.

The players in turn shoot their discs always trying to line their own discs on the edge of the mat, while keeping the opponent's off. Two skillful players will often play through their discs, each putting his shot well on the edge of the mat, only to be knocked off by the next play of the opponent. In this case there will be only one score (*kai*), the last disc thrown by the second player. To knock two of opponent's discs off the mat with one throw is *tita lua*; to knock off three is *tita tolu*. Should there be several discs on the mat at the end of play, only one player's disc or discs bettering all discs of the opponent is counted in the score. Should it happen that the player who started has no disc remaining on the mat and only one disc left to throw, while the finisher has two discs left to throw and at least one on the mat, then the latter, without taking his turn, calls out, "Na lave", and scores three points. The beginning player forfeits his last shot, and the next round begins.

With the help of the *kaupalo*, the players remember their own scores for each round; the player who first scores ten points wins (*ta te ulu*).

A game of *tupe*, though played at one time by only two players, is actually of the nature of a group game. At the end of a game, the loser briskly jumps up and another person takes his place to try his skill against the winner. The number of persons that one player successively defeats is his *tiki*; two, *tiki lua*; three, *tiki tolu*. The crowd sits or stands about watching with the greatest interest and coaching each shot. Should the *kaupalo* neglect to remove a dead *tupe*, someone in the crowd of onlookers is sure to scold him and order him to remove the disc, "To te tamā ia! E hole, te tupe! te tamā ma!" (Remove that child! No, the one on the side!) The player must decide whether to attempt to knock off the opponent's well-placed disc, with the danger of losing his own disc over the edge of the mat, or whether to leave the opponent's disc in position and attempt to place his own disc ahead of the other. Similarly the skillful player has a feeling for the relative merits of each of the discs; a heavy disc he will save for a crucial shot when it is important to knock the opponent off the mat, a light disc he uses for a placement shot at the beginning. The game is played for hours on end by successive players, the player who scores most victories at a session being adjudged the winner. A favorite time to play is in the pool of a moonlight night, when a full moon gives ample light to judge the discs.

524 There are no records of indoor or outdoor guessing games other than the children's games of *talatalaunga* and *poi ter* do the Pukapukans seem to have indulged in riddling contests.

INTER-VILLAGE CONTESTS

526 [M] Outdoor sports competitions between the villages were very common. Of the large variety of such games, many have been submerged at the present time by a passion for cricket, which is played between village teams of men and women with any number of players on each side for two or three weeks at a time. Old-time games have not been forgotten, however, and our presence on the island was the incentive for their revival.

Coconut-tree climbing contests (*tauloungo kaho niu*). Two coconut trees are selected near an open space. The height of the nuts on one tree is measured with a rope; the same height is measured off on the other tree and marked on the bole by a fastening of coconut leaf. In contests where the two trees are of about the same height the winner is the one whose nut hits the ground first. Where the trees are of unequal

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526 height, the winner is the one who, having climbed to the height indicated, first reaches the ground. Each contestant stands before a tree with a climbing bandage on his feet. The left hand rests on the tree trunk; the right hand is clasped around the tree. At the given signal (at present, on the count of three) each man springs up the tree and climbs as fast as he can. In coming down the tree he may slide as much as possible and leap from the tree when about 8 or 9 feet from the ground.

Coconut-husking contests (*pukenga niu pupuka*). Three carefully sharpened husking sticks are placed in the ground, 1½ paces apart, to form the apices of an equilateral triangle. The husking sticks are carefully placed to make an angle of about 70 degrees with the ground. On a small coconut leaf mat impaled over the stick, the village husker husks, squatting on an unhusked nut. Sixty *pukafi* nuts are placed in the centre of the triangle. Each husker impales a nut on his stick. At the signal the men start to husk and continue until all the nuts are husked, including the nuts on which the men squat. The man who husks most nuts wins the contest. One man may stop the contest at any time to repair his stick if it falls over or if its point breaks or blunts. Behind each man stands his second (*tuhotoko*), a man from another village, who counts his nuts at the end. In an average contest, three men husk 60 nuts in 2 minutes. After one contest, the points of the sticks are resharpened and fixed in the ground again, and another contest follows.

526 Nuts are competitively husked not only in inter-village contests but also by villagers
245 preparing for a feast, making copra, or dividing nuts from the reserves. At the present time, in making copra at the reserves, after each adult has collected his weekly quota of from 100 to 200 nuts, all the young men, accompanied by children, women, and old men move from one pile of nuts to the next, holding a husking contest at each pile. In this contest two or more men compete against each other until the pile is finished. The group spends the whole day going thus from one pile to the next. Sometimes a women's team accompanies the men to husk the nuts of the women, at times competing against the men. The mixed contests are occasions of great fun-making which reach a climax if a woman defeats a man. The women wax jubilant, and the onlookers hurl all sorts of advice and ridicule at the unlucky man, who is glad to make his escape. The news spreads like wildfire through the copra settlements. The old men are quick to make suitable visitations, and it is long before the defeated man hears the last of his shame.

526 Competitive dart-throwing contests. Held on an open space (*malae*) usually on the beach at low tide. An exhibition contest was given during our stay. The *malae velo* (dart-contest space), the beach in front of Loto village, was cleared of rubbish before the contest commenced; men of Yato cleared one half, men of Loto and Ngake the other half. Rubbish was thrown into the sea, and the loose coral was pushed off to the side with the butt ends of coconut midribs. This made a clear space about 75 yards long and 15 yards wide. Two throwing pits (*tuae*) were dug, one at each end of the *malae*. Each pit was 6 feet long and 3 wide, and sloped from the ground level at the rear to a depth of 1 foot in the front. The sand from the pit was piled up at the front end to form a small batter used as a throwing base (*mulí tuae*).

The composite dart, *vele*, is described on page 214. The thrower takes the dart in his right hand, holding it at the *yiku* end with the thumb and middle finger, the index finger steadying the *yiku* tip. To test the hold, balance, and aim of his spear, he takes a preliminary run (*holo*). He starts five paces behind the *tuae*, takes several quick steps forward toward it, holding the dart with the forearm vertical, the dart horizontal and level with or a little higher than the shoulder. He stops in his run and, with the fingers of the left hand, places (*tuhingavuli*) the dart at a point about 2 feet from the *yiku* end. Then he moves back to the starting point, makes another *holo*, and again tests the dart to be sure that his trajectory is correct. The third time, he advances to the *tuae*, plants his left foot against the batter, and hurls the spear (*tuhapoi te vele*). A well-thrown dart moves through the air horizontally about 10 feet above the ground, strikes the ground at an obtuse angle, and then slithers (*totolo te vele*) a long distance

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along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *tatoa* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*uaheteie*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*hulu tino*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *tino* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*kai*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*ia te uka*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *palehinuli*.

Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 50 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tika*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tika*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngaya* wood. For many weeks before and after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

Running races (*uaiele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuiahi*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata uaeiki* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

Wrestling (*popoko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

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the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*mokoyuna*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*koiloa*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *koitau lalo*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*tauanga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai taoe ikina, pelola to malo, tai ake to tau, ynole ake ki te one i te lunga o nuu" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua kaua*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*kolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pahipahi te kowa*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

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526 summit cord of the ring with one hand, peeks under the cord into the ring, kicks one foot into it and the other foot away from the ring, and then trots on. He goes around the ring two or three times. Then the two men duck under the cord and enter the ring. The champion stands in the center, his second at his side. An opponent (*tama*) advances from his shelter, enters the ring, and the two men wrestle. After a few seconds' wrestling, if there is no throw, the second stops the bout. Other men from the second village and from the champion's own village enter the ring in turn and wrestle, but the second stops the bout each time. Though the wrestling is not taken seriously, the champion is now considered unbeaten in these preliminary trials; and the ring is said to remain in his possession. He and his second take down the ring. Had the champion been beaten in one of these contests, the ring would have passed to his opponent and the opponent would have removed the ring. Only recognized champions of their respective villages have the right to wrestle with the island champion inside his ring. Once the ring is removed and the challenging finished, the general contests begin. Bouts take place anywhere on the ground which, though unmarked and without a ring, is still called *ano*.

A man from Loto, the challenging village, stands on the grass in front of his shelter, silent and looking straight ahead. A challenger from Yato advances toward the Loto man. When close together, the Loto man appears to notice him and the two men open (*wahangia*) the match thus: Each man bends forward from the waist and grips the outstretched fingers of his opponent in an interlocking grip with his own fingers. The two disengage and swing the arms around to the back of the body, beating the hands against the buttocks. This is repeated several times, the men sparring (*lialia*) for grip, balance, and foothold. Then the two engage seriously and seek for a throw. In the old days famous champions dispensed with the sparring movements, rushed straight at their opponents, and sought for a surprise grip and unexpected throw. If a man did this when his opponent was expecting to spar, he generally took his opponent off guard and threw him. There is nothing unfair in these surprise rushes.

Instead of advancing only one man, the challenging village may advance three or four men who wait for a contest. One opponent comes forward, and the one among the challengers who is considered a fit match for him waits while the other men retire. If the other villages are backward in advancing a man, the challenger walks up and down before the shelter of his opponents. He does this carelessly, silently ridiculing the apparent faint-heartedness of his opponents. This invariably shames the opponents into advancing one or several men, in which case the challenger indicates the man he wishes to wrestle by engaging his fingers. After each bout the winning village is supposed to issue a challenge for the next bout. If the bout is a draw, the initiative remains with the previous challengers.

Each match lasts for 35 to 45 seconds of intense struggle. A bout is won by causing opponent to fall, by lifting opponent's feet clear of the ground, or through opponent's allowing part of his body other than his feet to touch the ground. Any wrestling hold is termed *liho* or *tonga*. To lift from the ground by grasping the front of the malo is *liho i te mua malo*. A malo that comes loose and provides a good handgrip is *malo matuku*. To throw or lift by grasping the thighs is *liho i te tonga*; to lunge or dive forward and grasp the leg or thigh is *tui te tonga*; to push a man to the ground as he lunges for the leg is *pato tua vae*; to throw by any means is *oi*. Other holds are used: to dive for the knees and pull them from the ground, which is countered by locking (*pokia*) the other's neck under the arm, trying to throw him off his balance by a sudden twist of neck and shoulders; and to hook a foot behind opponent's leg and trip him with a sudden push. Long arms and heavy weight are considered an asset in these holds. Striking with the closed or open hand, grasping vital organs, and twisting limbs so as to inflict pain have no part in Pukapukan wrestling. Even though there is no referee for the bouts there seems to be no temptation to indulge in unfair holds.

If no throw occurs at the end of about 45 seconds of wrestling, the bout is considered a draw and either wrestler indicates this to his opponent by relaxing (*wakaea*)

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reenforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau tuvu*, strong men): *uwa vaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto vaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli vaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *uwa vaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto vaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli vaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fall all opponents is *papuki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *palenga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

826 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 23), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe paddling races (*uoingonga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*uoingonga lakki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waiatea to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are lined up and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533] Swimming races (*uoingonga kauhou*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*uokaytekeyke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 527 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *uoingonga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *uoingonga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *uoingonga lakki*, or *malowa*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*lani*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During [834] these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

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526, 292

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for description of wrestling competitions and the wrestler's malo, see p. 48.]

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PLATE 3.—House in Te Motu, used by watchmen in ancient times to guard over taro patches. One original corner post and one side post have been reenforced by new posts.

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PLATE 4.—Wrestler's malo.

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short
526 chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in
578 wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa,
621 yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insuring the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools, and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests. The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts (koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type o. chant in which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent line in order magically to render his task easier. A man may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook. In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the tale for the feast, but a meeting of
[262] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two
weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been run-
ning and coke throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation
for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women.
This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas.
In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the
he'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect
nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to
do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu
on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to
Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Men's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomor-
row fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the
recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, em-
bracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport
program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th.
Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New
Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day
was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard,
people from each village grouped under its own shelter.
First there was imine, in which singers from each village
sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then
tug-of-war between teams from each village, including wo-
men's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners
from each village visited in turn each other village. Wed-
nesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard
throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters
as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were
devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each
village visited in turn and played against teams from the other
two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g.,
wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food,
fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday,
January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and
coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer
by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

285 filled by the open ole and the talums of lau wal pakapaka.
111

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awanwa and Ngaliyeyen were the originators of the game
776 Lukipuku, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua pumpumu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word pumpumu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that pumpumu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Tasa, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round wate Tasa. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Tasa, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.

The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, Category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko to kau o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Kia lua o laua kainga; ko Manawuna ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine is ki Tayake. Weikake loa lungo o Na Tua Wuevue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua is i te leleka o laua loo. Wo loa is te wenua is ki a Tuyimate. Ikiiki mai loa ki te